1:Stanford U. S-4, 5-1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

III. RADIO

A. Facilities and Control

•207 The development of radio networks in Southwest China followed a series of official directives. Upon the establishment of the Peking regime in 1949, the Common Program, which formed the basis of Communist China's "constituion," specifies that "People's radio and publication work shall be developed." [39] Immediately after that, a central agency in charge of radio administration was established in Peking. In April 1950 the Information Administration at Peking issued a directive on the "establishment of radiobroadcast receiving networks." Based on this directive, provincial and special administrative district authorities in Southwest China issued in the same year their announcements on how to establish radiobroadcast receiving networks. On July 27, 1950, Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission for this region, reported that "one of the most important tasks for the Southwest is to strive for improvement in the content of radio programs, expand receiving networks step by step, increase radio facilities and supplies, so that radio can and will become an essential means of which the govemment can direct all its functions in this region." [40] Ch'u was the official interpreter of

39. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 18.

40. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1003.

207 government policy on radio, and his interpretation made it unmistakably clear how and for what purpose radio networks in the Southwest China Region were to be developed.

According to these announcements, radio networks (broadcasting as well as receiving) were to come under the joint jurisdiction of the local People's government, the Communist Party's local branches, and the regional radio station which directly received instructions from the Central People's Radio Station in Peking. Since the abolition of the regional administrations in June 1954, it is presumed that provincial and municipal radio stations have been directly responsible to Peking while still subject to control by local People's governments and Communist Party branch offices.

The multiple system of control is necessary, in the eyes of the Communists, because the Peking regime and regional authorities have made it amply clear that radio is one of the most effective instruments of mass education to prepare the masses for "socialist construction of China."

One characteristic of radio control in China and other Communist countries is its extent, covering not only the broadcasting networks but receiving stations as well. Organizing "receiving stations" may serve two purposes; one is to ameliorate the shortage of facilities, the other is to insure that available facilities are used in the way approved by the government. The services of private radio owners are enlisted by the government

207 to expand the radio network. These owners are called "friends of the radio." They receive free radio program announcements from the government and some free maintenance services. In turn they are expected to reciprocate by reporting the listener's reactions to the government. Each of these private radio owners may serve as a receiving station, or as a nucleus for a listener's group, if the owner has already registered with the government. Communist authorities also appoint official radio receiving officers in each military unit, government office, school, and in other institutions.

Receiving stations are established on the hsien (county), city, hsiang (group of villages), and village levels. Within a larger city, more than one station may be maintained on the public square, at the public library, in factories, and other places. Outlying industrial and mining districts also may have them. Each complete receiving station is equipped with a radio set and manned by a monitor (called a "receiving officer"), who monitors news and other important broadcasts, and a technician responsible for maintaining the set.

As a supplement to the receiving stations, whose audiences may be limited in number, there are public address systems either directly hooked up to the radio receiving sets or operating separately. The Communists call these public address systems "wire broadcast" (one type of radio

207 diffusion exchange) in contradistinction to "wireless." When a "wire broadcasting" station operates separately, the receiving officer organizes a separate program based on the news and important broadcasts he has monitored. To these materials he then adds whatever caters to local needs. In a large factory, the public address system may have a number of loud speakers distributed among the departments on the premises.

The receiving officer at a station which has no supplementary public address systems is usually required to run a news bulletin. Such a bulletin may be issued from once a day to twice a week, and the method of publication depends on the location of the station and the audience it serves. Sometimes the radio receiving officer may also be required to prepare a "blackboard newspaper," which involves his transcription on a conspicuously-placed blackboard of the news items he has monitored from the radio.[41]

A few terms in connection with the Communist radio work may be somewhat puzzling to Western observers. Lieh-ch'e Kuang-po [broadcast on the train] is a "wire broadcasting" system installed on the train for the benefit of the passengers. T'u Kuang-po [native broadcast] and

41. For regulations governing radio receiving officers, see People's Daily, Peking, April 30, 1950.

207 Wu-ting Kuang-po [rooftop broadcast] are but Communist cadres shouting at the top of their voices the monitored news items through megaphones (trumpet funnels). When they do so at a street corner, they are performing "native broadcasting." If they do so on rooftops, they are performing "rooftop broadcasting." These cadres are identified with "propaganda officers," about whom more will be said later. All these forms of broadcasting are in use in Southwest China.

The relationship between these broadcasting stations and receivers, and the chain of control, can be illustrated by the following chart:

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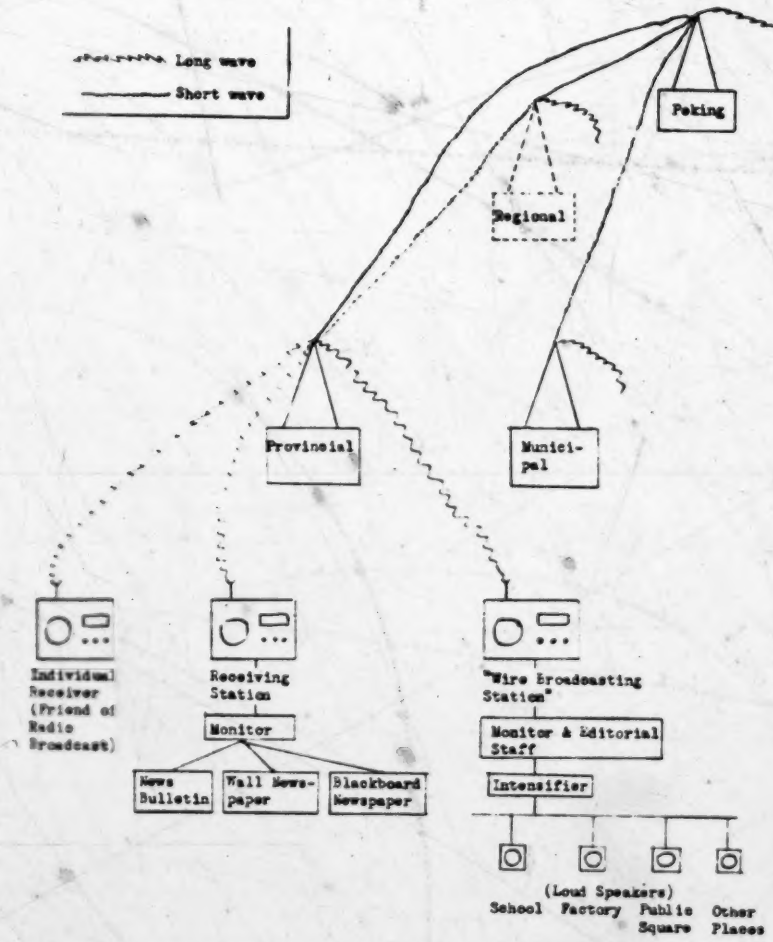
RADIO BROADCASTING AND RECEIVING IN COMMUNIST CHINA



Similar receiving arrangements are repeated at all levels.

(Facing p. 655)

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207 In 1947, the following seven stations were broadcasting in this region:

Table 10. Radio Stations in Southwest China (1947)*/

Name	Location	Call Signal	Kilocycles
Kunming	Kunming, Yunnan	XPRA	700; 6,404
Chungking	Chungking, Szechwan	XGOB	1,200
International	Chungking, Szechwan	XGOY	9,658; 11,913; 15,170;7,153
Ku-sheng	Chungking, Szechwan	XLDA	1,340
P'ei-tu	Chungking, Szechwan	XLDB	950
Kweichow	Kweiyang, Kweichow	XPPA	9,430;1,000
Chengtu	Chengtu, Szechwan	XGOG	560

*/ Chung-hua Nien-chien [China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, pp. 1956-63.

After the Communist occupation, there was no immediate report from this region on the re-organization of the broadcasting stations. Other reports, however, indicated that some stations were apparently taken over

207 and operated by the Communists in 1950. Among the major stations operating in China, the 1952 People's Handbook listed the Southwest Regional Station and the Chungking People's Station for this region.[42] Programs of the two above-mentioned stations also appeared in Southwest regional newspapers in 1952. On October 1, 1952, a third station -- the Szechwan People's Station -- started broadcasting.[43] The announcement failed to indicate the location of this station. As a rule, such provincial stations are located in provincial capitals; thus the Szechwan People's Station could be the successor to the Chengtu Station of 1947. Since the Communist policy of expanding radio networks appears to have been in effect during the past five years, there is reason to believe that at least one major broadcasting station has been operating in each province. The former province of Sikang is an exception. It never had a radio broadcasting station and now, having been incorporated into Szechwan since July 1955, it apparently must be relying on the Szechwan Station for radio broadcasting.

Two reasons may account for the fact that the Communists are in no great hurry to establish many broadcasting stations. One is Peking's policy favoring rapid expansion of major, well-controlled media of information.

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42. *Jen-min Shou-ts'e* [People's Handbook], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p. 436.

43. New China Daily, Chungking, October 2, 1952, p. 3.

207 This has been true with the press where the government promotes circulation of large official papers while voicing caution from time to time against "blind expansion" of small local newspapers. A larger number of broadcasting stations, like newspapers, will present a more complicated problem of control. The other reason is the shortage of facilities. With these limitations, the Communists have been placing emphasis on the establishment of receiving stations in their policy of expanding radio work. In January 1951, every administrative district and hsien, except in certain areas of Yunnan Province, was reported to have at least one receiving station in operation. In Szechwan and Kweichow provinces, 256 such stations were established. This number does not include those in the two provincial capitals of Chengtu and Kweiyang. Where there was electricity, "wire broadcasting" stations were already functioning.[44]

By September 1952, officials in Southwest China claimed that a receiving network had been completed for the entire region. Even in northwestern Sezechwan in the remote hsien of Sungp'an, there was one such station in each subdistrict. Eight hundred receiving officers manned these stations in the region, maintaining over 100 mimeographed news bulletins and about 20,000 blackboard newspapers.[45]

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44. New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3.

45. Ibid., September 30, 1952, p. 3.

207 Newspaper advertisements in this region show that in 1953 basic facilities for radio reception were available in the market. Four- and five-tube receiving sets, operating on either direct or alternating current, were for sale in Chungking. Batteries, loud-speakers, and microphones could also be bought. Some of these supplies were possibly manufactured in Chungking.[46]

There is no later information on radio facilities in this region,[47] but the expansion of receiving stations is believed to be still in progress.

B. Operation and Audience

207 208 The programs of these broadcasting stations are organized to deliver and explain

46. Ibid., January 1, 1953, p. 5.

47. Some statistics on radio in China, however, are available. In March 1953, there were 20,591 receiving stations, 15,850 listening groups, and 32,667 receiving officers. In addition, there were many special listening groups of women, children, and neighborhood units organized in special districts. Over 85 per cent (or about 1,800) of the nation's hsien have such stations, including minority banners and leagues. Chin Ta-k'ai, "Chung-kung Ti Kuang-po-wang," ["The Radio Network in Communist China"], China Weekly, No. 65, March 29, 1954, pp. 10-12.

207 political messages to the audiences. The
208 pattern is fixed and changes in content occur in accordance with the commands of central authorities. If the current issue is "Resist-America-Aid-Korea," then everything on the programs is anti-American propaganda. If it is "Production Emulation to Greet Labor Day," then every speech or news item has something to do with model workers and heroes. The following table is a survey of the programs presented by the Southwest Regional People's Broadcasting Station and the Chungking Municipal People's Broadcasting Station in June 1953:

Table 11. Radio Programs in Southwest China (1953) */

Program (daily)	Time (in minutes) Southwest	Chungking
Rebroadcast of Peking program and nat'l hookup	90	90
Lessons in Russian	60	60
Literature	45	75
News	15	15
People's Liberation Army programs	105	--
Music, announcements	35	95
Calisthenics	---	20
Women, children, and other programs	---	30
Tibetan-language program	20	--
Total	370	385

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*/ New China Daily, Chungking, May 31, 1953, p. 4.

In 1953, the stations in this region were broadcasting twice or three times a day. The regional station was on the air from 6:00 to 7:00 and from 18:10 to 23:20, broadcasting on 570 and 6,154 kilocycles. The Chungking Municipal Station's schedule was 6:00-7:35; 15:50-17:00; and 18:50-22:30, on 1,300 kilocycles. Common to both stations were the rebroadcasts of Peking programs, consisting of "important" speeches by high government officials and lectures. When a national campaign like the preparation for the general election in 1953-1954 was on, a portion of radio time would be devoted entirely to a national hookup organized and controlled by the Central People's Station in Peking. Studying Russian has been in vogue in Mainland China, hence the daily allocation of almost one-sixth of broadcasting time to this purpose. Literature programs included reading of poems and stories whose central theme never varied from praising the working class and the achievement of the Communist regime. Since many "news" items were covered in the rebroadcasts and other special programs, the comparatively small portion of time devoted to news reporting was used to give summaries only. In our foregoin discussion of the press, it has been shown how news items in Communist China resemble feature stories; the same difficult exists when one attempt

207 to draw the line between news and other features
208 on the radio program. The initial musical number to start the day's broadcasting was either "All Red the East," or "We Sing for Our Motherland," two most popular tunes in Communist China. There was no evidence of the use of works by western composers on the prgrams in this region, although in 1953 the stations in Shanghai featured the works of Beethoven. Local operas and plays were occasionally used to fill the music hours.

Liberation Army" and Tibetan-language programs were special features of the regional station for Southwest China. Correspondence from writers assigned to army units on the Sikang-Tibet Highway constituted the bulk of the materials broadcast for regional and even national consumption. "How our Troops Conquered the Difficulties in Building the Sikang-Tibet Highway," "Our Recreational Club in the Liberation Army," and "Learn from the Russian Army," [48] were some of the common subjects presented on the Army program. On this program, brief items of news were also read. Radio monitors attached to the Army used these news reports to run their mimeographed or wall newspapers for the troops. The Tibetan-language hour was designed to serve the minority nationals in northwestern Szechwan Province. It consisted of summaries of the day's important items.

Calisthenic lessons were broadcast early in the morning, while special programs catering

48. New China Daily, Chungking, June 4, 10, 2, 1953, p. 3.

●207 to women, children, and other groups were left
208 to the municipal station which served a more limited audience. The regional station also went on a slightly different schedule on Sundays to present more music and plays. The municipal station featured "dance music" on Saturday nights, but there is no report of the type of music used for dancing. In addition, the municipal station also broadcast a lengthy "worker's program" twice a day, except Sundays. A typical item on the "worker's program" was a speech by a labor hero. For instance, there was one by Yang Hu-k'un entitled "My Experience of Participating in the Seventh All-China Conference of the Federation of Labor Unions."[49] To entertain the workers, the program carried "live" broadcasts direct from the theaters on Saturday nights.

Like the content of the press in this region, the radio programs in 1953 also laid heavy stress on "economic reconstruction." Even the children's programs devoted considerable time to such a propaganda item as "My Father Has Become a Model Laborer," broadcast by Chou Ting-kuo, member of the Communist Young Pioneers.[50] Fairy tales and folk tales of both oriental and occidental origins were generally so

49. Ibid., June 3, 1953, p. 3.

50. Ibid., June 5, 1953, p. 3.

207 doctored as to carry the message of "how to be-
208 have like good children of Chairman Mao Tse-tung," or "how to help our parents to construct a socialist China." No commercials or "soap operas" were allowed on any program in this region

The program of the Szechwan People's Broadcasting Station, inaugurated on October 1, 1952, was arranged in the same pattern. One interesting item was the "propaganda officer's"[51] hour, which provided the official propaganda personnel a radio forum to clarify the political issues of the day. The Szechwan station operated on 980 and 1,350 kilocycles.

C. Application and Effectiveness of Radio as a Propaganda Medium

The Communists in Southwest China claim that their radio networks, with minor shortcomings noted, have been a success. To evaluate this claim, it is necessary to take into consideration the following observations:

1. The control of radio broadcasting in this region has been complete. Since there were not as many independent stations in this region as in East China at the time of Communist occupation, the problem of reorganizing the stations in Southwest China was a relatively simple one. However, since every step from broadcasting to receiving is directly and closely supervised by the government and the Party, the entire system could easily be

51. New China Daily, Chungking, October 2, 1952, p. 3.

207 brought under effective control. However, the
208 first sign of anxiety was visible at the First National Radiobroadcast Workers' Conference held in Peking from December 1 to 11, 1952. Among the dangerous trends pointed out at the conference were the following: (a) the editorial departments of radio stations failed to establish a close tie with the masses; (b) the issues raised in the programs did not sufficiently reflect life in reality; (c) there were wide gaps in overall planning and technical guidance.[52] To remedy the situation, the conference concluded, . . . more regimentation and centralization were needed in radio work. Hence, there seems to be little possibility for any local station to use its own initiative; if it tried, it would be accused of "deviation" and subject to severe penalties.

2. Lack of facilities remains a stumbling block to expansion of radio work. In addition to such measures as "wire broadcasting station," radio news bulletins, blackboard and wall newspapers, the Communist in Southwest China have been following the nation-wide practice of sending mobile radio teams to the countryside. These mobile teams carry radio sets with them and, upon reaching a village, organize listening groups to hear some of the special programs. Such a measure has proven effective when the Communists have a special campaign to carry out. In

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52. Chin Ta-k'ai, op. cit., pp. 10-12.

207 the cities, similar listening groups are also
208 organized to support any campaign. During the "Resist-America-Aid-Korea" Movement, "good results" were reported in Chungking and its vicinity. One admitted drawback was that these listening groups would break up as soon as the special campaign was over. Better organization is needed if any lasting effect is to be expected of the propaganda, according to report.

3. The Communists in Southwest China assign only trusted Party members to key positions in the radio network, but there are apparently not enough well-trained personnel (technical and otherwise) to meet the need. As a result, each provincial broadcasting station has been conducting its own personnel training program. While much may have already been done to improve them, these training programs, begun in 1950-51, leave much to be desired. Many of the radio receiving officers are given only two months of training. During such a short period, these candidates are supposed to "elevate the level of their political understanding and formulate a new revolutionary outlook on life!" Actually, some of the trained receiving officers have failed even to acquaint themselves with standard Mandarin pronunciation and intonation. This has resulted in their inability to monitor correctly the messages broadcast from Peking or from provincial stations. Radio technicians are, in most cases, given a six-month training course. Their doubtful competence, plus the shortage of radio parts, has subsequently caused many receiving stations to stop operation.

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208 4. One success of the Communist radio program is to be found among the students, particularly among the younger ones. At school, radio listening, like newspaper reading, has been made part of the regular curriculum. With Communist Youth Corps members acting as leaders, daily news items are discussed and analyzed with a view to guiding the thinking of the students in the direction of favoring the Communist regime. When the fall of Seoul was broadcast in 1951, receiving officers were directed to explain the setback as a strategic necessity, not as a sign of defeat, lest the students become skeptical of the Communist slogan, "The U. S. is but a paper tiger." There is evidence that most of the students are quite willing to accept such Communist propaganda and are enthusiastic about their Communist leaders.

5. The national hookup programs to support propaganda campaigns are probably the most effective broadcasts. Co-ordinated with the press, these radio programs are given advance notice and the masses are psychologically prepared for them. During the land reform, this technique was employed to agitate the people to rise against the landlords. During the "Resist-America-Aid-Korea" and the subsequent "Germ Warfare" campaigns, students and soldiers were encouraged to tell over the radio their sentiments toward "American warmongers." When the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns were being promoted, citizens were urged to report on "corrupt officials" and inefficiency in government agencies. According to Communist statistics, from March 1

• 207/208 to May 31, 1951, the forty-nine People's broadcasting stations throughout Mainland China organized 389 such national or regional hookup broadcasts. Over 36,000,000 people were said to have listened to the programs and the stations received 186,000 letters, telegrams, and telephone calls as evidence of favorable response.[53] Photographs are available in Communist publications, showing old peasant women crying under a loud speaker which is supposedly relaying a live broadcast of how a "People's enemy" is brought before a mass trial, or a youth shouting in response to the radio's call for additional manpower to suppress counterrevolutionaries, or a young country girl beaming broadly upon hearing the news of the promulgation of the new marriage law. These pictures, of course, could be other than what the captions claim. But there is no denying that the Communists have resorted to every conceivable means of mass persuasion and that radio is being fully exploited in Communist China for propaganda purposes.

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53. Jen-min Hua-pao [People's Pictorial], Peking, October 1951, (no pagination).